

LETTERS AND CORRESPONDENCE OF JOHN HENRY NEWMAN, DURING HIS LIFE IN THE ENGLISH CHURCH.—II.

IN our first notice of these volumes of Cardinal Newman's Anglican letters, we left him at the time where, after his severe illness in Sicily, he returns to England, penetrated with the idea that "God has a work for me to do." The direction which the work is to take is soon revealed and made evident. In 1833 the Established Religion seemed in a critical position. Newman writes :—

"It was the moment when the fears for the Church, which had long been growing, and which arose not merely from the designs avowed or surmised, of her enemies, but from the helplessness of her friends, had led at length to the resolution of a few brave and zealous men to speak out and act. Ten Irish bishoprics had been at a sweep suppressed, and Church people were told to be thankful that things were no worse."

Amongst these brave and zealous men, it is needless to say, Newman was the foremost.

On July 14th, 1833, Keble preached his celebrated assize sermon, entitled "National Apostasy," and on this event Newman ever looked as the commencement of the Tractarian movement. It was shortly followed by several meetings of like-minded clergymen, the best-known among them being Newman, Keble, and Hurrell Froude (Pusey only joined the movement later on), in which two plans were discussed for arousing the religious instincts of English Churchmen, and stirring them out of the death-like apathy which was imperilling the existence of their body. These plans were, the formation of an association for the defence of the Anglican Church, and the idea of issuing a series of doctrinal and devotional pamphlets. As to the first scheme, we hear little more of it in these letters; the second resulted in the publication of the famous "Tracts for the Times."

Although, perhaps, hardly realizing the full extent of the

revolution in the Church of England which they were anxious to bring about, and which, as a fact, from one point of view, they actually accomplished, yet, from the first, the Tractarians admitted that their scheme was a bold one. It was none other than to work a radical change in the religion of their country; to force a Catholic meaning into every ambiguous formulary; and to ignore the Protestantism which for centuries their Church had been supposed to teach—in fact, had taught. Now, as we all know, the exact meaning of words lies in the interpretation attached to them; and if this is suddenly changed from one point to its exact opposite, a startling difference in the effect of the teaching of such words ensues. Over and above the change of meaning of the Anglican formularies which was to be brought about by the teaching of the Tracts, there was also much either taught by, or implied in, the Prayer-book, which, at this date, was ignored by the clergy and the laity alike; and it was desired also to bring back such teaching into the practical life of English Churchmen. Hurrell Froude was not far wrong when, at an early meeting of Tractarians, he exclaimed, with perhaps truer prophetic vision than his associates: “I don’t see why we should disguise from ourselves that our object is to dictate to the clergy of this country.”

Even Newman himself, however, seems to have foreseen great difficulties in un-Protestantising his fellow-countrymen, and in persuading them that, doubt it as they might, their Church was really Catholic; for he writes: “We floored so miserably at the Reformation, that, though the Church ground *is* defensible, yet the edge of truth is so fine, no plain man can see it.” Nor did outsiders anticipate great success for the party. Bunsen, a keen though an unsympathetic critic, on reading Newman’s *History of the Arians*, in which his Tractarian views were prominent, says that, should the party succeed in leavening the whole of England with their teaching, they would but be “introducing Popery without authority, Protestantism without liberty, Catholicism without universality, and Evangelicism without spirituality.” In fact, the Tractarian scheme was likely to raise an amount of

opposition, the force of which was well-nigh incalculable. Every religious instinct in the England of those days was antagonistic to the Catholic Church, and these instincts were quite incapable of drawing the fine line between what Newman called "Roman," as distinct from "Catholic" teaching. He was, therefore, confronted with the full force of the English prejudice against the Church, and, of course, entirely unsupported by the Catholic Church, which, in spite of popular opinion to the contrary, he opposed.

The storm was not, however, aroused quite at first, and Newman's new and startling teaching did not, in its earliest days, meet with great opposition. His attitude towards the bishops was one of complete submission. In directing the tone to be taken in one of the first tracts, he writes:—"Recollect that we are supporting the bishops; enlarge on the unfairness of leaving them to bear the brunt of the battle." A little later on, he asserts his willingness to submit at once to any advice or correction which they might offer, and even, should they so desire, to confine the subjects of the tracts entirely to such as concern the Creeds and the Thirty-Nine Articles. Indeed, even later, when he was being most keenly opposed, and was often placed in cruelly false positions, we never detect any sign of the defiant and rebellious spirit which has disfigured so much zealous and excellent work in those who profess to-day to be the Anglican representatives of Tractarian teaching. Newman's attitude, through a very trying period of misrepresentation, is above criticism.

Early in the movement, it suffered the loss of one who, had he lived longer, might have greatly influenced its course. In February, 1836, Hurrell Froude died, and his death was not only of public moment, but was also a deep personal sorrow to Newman. As we stated last month, it was in order that Froude should escape an English winter, that he and Newman went abroad in 1833. No cure of his illness, however, resulted from the trip, and during the three following years his health gradually declined; and although he eagerly joined in the scheme for writing the early tracts, he did not live to see the results which speedily followed on their issue.

The movement went on, in spite of his loss, but its course was probably less brilliant for the extinction of his energizing presence, and, at the outset, he seemed to those with whom he worked as absolutely essential to the original impulse which set them going. As Miss Mozley writes: "They cannot imagine the start without his forwarding, impelling look and voice." He was, at this date, Newman's dearest friend, and the grief the latter experienced at his death is pathetically described in a letter to Mr. Bowden:—

"He has been so very dear to me [writes Newman], that it is an effort to me to reflect on my own thoughts about him. I can never have a greater loss, looking on the whole of my life. . . . I never, on the whole, fell in with so gifted a person. In variety and perfection of gifts he far exceeded even Keble."

The year 1836 seems to have been a momentous one in Newman's life, and not alone for the loss of Froude, nor even for that of his mother, which followed closely on it. He himself tabulates nine important events of this year, bracketing them together under the heading: "A New Scene Opens." Amongst these we note, "My Knowing and Using the Breviary;" and again, "My Writing against the Church of Rome." Although he had good cause for dejection at this time, it is in this year that he writes to his sister, he is so full of work that he has little time for sadness. He owns to feeling solitary, but adds: "I never feel so near heaven as then. . . I am not more lonely than I have been for a long while. God intends me to be lonely; He has so framed my mind that I am in a great measure beyond the sympathy of other people, and thrown upon Himself."

At this date, although he might lack sympathy, he had not yet to complain of absolute misunderstanding. The tracts were following one another with rapidity; they were welcomed and read with interest; the effect of their teaching was already apparent, and Tractarian views were spreading in a manner which surprised even their promoters. All was promising, and Newman's letters sound a glad, even a triumphant, note. Conscious of his loyalty to the Church of England, only anxious to arouse and revivify her, with no mistrust as to his position,

he could cheerfully suffer to be opposed by those from whom he frankly and avowedly differed ; and at this date no sadness mingles with his anxiety to spread his opinions. Later on, the tone of his letters changes sensibly, a change caused even less by the tardily-avowed opposition of the Anglican authorities than by the spirit of distrust in his own self, which further study has aroused. It is this mistrust in his own loyalty to the Anglican Church which weighs him down so heavily, and makes the later letters in this volume so sad and pitiful that we almost feel that we—as more or less indifferent spectators—have no right to be witnesses of such keen suffering, or to be admitted to the sight of the intolerable anguish of a soul awakening to the fact that, though all unconsciously, he has been using God's best gifts against and not in His service. It has been well said that our sorrow is the inverted image of our nobleness ; and in nothing does Newman's nobility stand forth more prominently than in the trying years when he lay on his "Anglican death-bed."

It is in August, 1838, that we begin to hear the first murmurings of disapproval, then only faint and distant, but which soon were to engulf Newman and so many of his friends. At that date we have a letter from Newman to Keble, in which he writes that he has just been listening to his bishop's charge, and that in it he had discovered a certain, though not a strong disapproval of the tracts and their tendency. The bishop, Newman writes, alludes to a remarkable development, both in matters of discipline and of doctrine, and states that he had received many anonymous letters charging the Tractarian party with Romanising ; and that, although, on investigating these charges, he finds nothing to corroborate such accusations, yet he regrets some words and expressions in the tracts, which, though used innocently by the writers, were likely to lead others into error. Feeble as this censure was, it touched Newman's sensitiveness to the quick, and it is on this occasion that he used the oft-quoted, though we fear by Anglicans little-heeded, words : " A bishop's lightest word, *ex cathedra*, is heavy." He himself wishes to discontinue the tracts forthwith. He writes at

once to his archdeacon, proposing to stop their issue; and, further, that if the bishop will only designate such amongst those already published as meet with his disapproval, he (Newman) will withdraw them from circulation. This is more than the bishop anticipated, or even wished. His position was a difficult one, so difficult that we find it no easy task even to make it intelligible to our readers. He personally liked and respected Newman, knowing him too well to suspect him capable of equivocal teaching, of saying less than he intended to mean, or of any want of straightforwardness—accusations of which were freely banded about; and he also approved decidedly of much that was in the tracts. But a bishop of the Establishment has much to think of besides his own individual tastes and opinions, and he is bound to give heed even to anonymous accusations of a tendency to the unpopular side supposed to be expounded by the tracts. The words the “Established Church” mean a religion consisting of such an innumerable number of opinions and of different shades of opinion, that an Anglican bishop’s lot does not fall in easy places, and to avoid mistakes he must be wary. In the year 1838, and even to-day, many forms of opinion sufficiently startling might pass unnoticed, provided the orthodox Protestantism of the Church of England was unassailed. Unfortunately, this was the very point which Newman’s enemies had seized on, and it was of Romanising that he was accused. Here the bishop felt that he might imperil his own influence if, whilst expressing approval of much which really commended itself to him, he did not so far yield to the popular outcry against the tracts by expressing some vague disapproval. Newman was far too sensitive to the censure of his superiors to submit easily to public reproof, even whilst in private he met with sympathy and encouragement. The tracts spoke with no hesitating voice of the authority of a bishop, and of the obedience and deference which is due to his office, and Newman had no disposition to allow himself to be placed in the false position of one who, whilst he theoretically enunciated decided views, in his own conduct ignored them. The whole strength of his position lay in his consistency; his life

and his teaching must be in harmony ; and he, therefore, only required to be told his bishop's wishes in order to comply with them. Such definite and exact obedience did not suit his lordship ; he had no wish to force Newman to discontinue the tracts, but he equally disliked that it should be supposed that he approved of them. The result was that whilst the "charge" was made public, the sympathetic and kind words with which he encouraged Newman were spoken in private, thus placing him (Newman) in a position the difficulty of which he felt keenly. He himself tells us, that at this time his influence stood higher than at any other time ; but, judging from his letters, we should say that the meridian of his Anglican life is now past. A certain misgiving, at first faint as a shadow, is becoming evident ; he suffers from the extreme tension of the times, the difficulty of satisfying all who are looking up to him as their guide daily becomes more apparent, whilst his share in the movement is criticized far and wide. In November, 1838, Newman writes a long letter to Keble, which is hardly one which a man would send who felt well satisfied with the world. In his letter he offers to be guided entirely by Keble's decision in any differences that may have arisen, and he continues :—

"Now, this being understood, may I not fairly ask for some little confidence in me, as to what, under these voluntary restrictions, I do? People should really put themselves into my place, and consider how the appearance of suspicion, jealousy, and discontent is likely to affect one who is most conscious that everything he does is imperfect, and, therefore, soon begins so to suspect everything he does as to have no heart and little power to do anything at all. Anyone can fancy the effect which the presence of ill-disposed spectators would have on some artist or operator engaged in a delicate experiment. Is such conduct kind towards me? Is it feeling? If I ought to stop, I am ready to stop ; but do not in the same breath chide me, for instance, for thinking of stopping the tracts, and then be severe on the tracts which are actually published. If I am to proceed, I must be taken for what I am—not agreeing, perhaps, altogether with those who criticize me, but still, I suppose, on the whole, subserving rather than not what they consider right ends. This I feel, that if I am met with loud remonstrances before gentle hints are tried, and if suspicions go before proofs, I shall very soon be silenced, whether people wish it or no."

To this letter is affixed, by Newman, a note in 1885: "This was the last occasion on which I could prefer a claim for *confidence*. The very next autumn my misgivings began." Words of ominous meaning; and we have now to trace the steps, one by one, which led to the great change impending, and to see how Newman came to realize the futility of all his hopes, the necessity for leaving the body which he had been so bravely trying to reform, and of taking rank with those whom he had ever looked on as buried in dark error. Our task is made the more difficult by the fragmentary nature of the tale as it is told in these volumes. A stray expression here and there, often in letters dealing mainly with other topics, a growing sadness and depression as his Catholic theories are daily contradicted by the evidently Protestant acts of his Church, are of moment as marking a gradual change: yet as a whole, if we compare the story of Newman's conversion as told in his "Letters," with its consecutive history in the *Apologia*, we realize how fortunate we are in possessing a work which tells us in a way none can question, how the important change was worked out. His conversion has been attributed to various causes; both good and bad reasons have been given for the change; and there is evidence in these letters that many of which we hear, were not without their share of influence. Still, on the whole, we gather that one, and one only, motive brought about the happy result. We see that distrust of those in authority, though not without a certain effect, was not the cause; and that the difficulty of being placed in a logical dilemma by shrewd minds, who often saw that Newman's premises led further than he suspected, could have been overcome. Nor would dissatisfaction at such acts of the Establishment as the Hampden and Jerusalem bishoprics, though painful episodes, have led to further action, but for the steadily-growing belief—at first a mere disquieting and alarming impression, but with deeper study growing into a firm conviction—that outside the Church of Rome there is no consistent Christian body whatsoever; that as she stood in the days of the Donatists and Monophysites, so she was found through the ever-lengthening

years, and so she stands to-day, Christ's one and only Church.

It was a few months after the letter to Keble (quoted above) was written, in which Newman insists that confidence must be placed in him; that he received what he calls "the first real hit from Romanism that has happened to me;" and he adds: "It is no laughing matter; I will not blink the question; so be it." The occasion of these first misgivings was the study of an article by Dr. Wiseman in the *Dublin Review*, on the early controversies of the Church with the Monophysites and the Donatists; and, as we learn, though far more fully from the *Apologia* than from these letters, these misgivings were never stifled or laid to rest; but, with study and reflection, became more and more active, and at length landed Newman safely in the haven of peace and rest in which the second half of his life was passed.

Henry W. Wilberforce, one of those who, "leaving all things," eventually followed in Newman's footsteps, has given us a record of his feelings when first confronted with the fear of Newman's change of religion. It is worth notice, as an example of the power the truth will exercise, when once firmly grasped, in dispelling prejudice, and of the courageous manner in which many of the converts of 1845 broke with their early teaching. The evidence required to shake the convictions of one who could write as below, must have been of the strongest:—

"It was in the beginning of October, 1839, that he made the astounding confidence, mentioning the two subjects which had inspired the doubt—the position of St. Leo in the Monophysite controversy, and the principle *securus judicat orbis terrarum* in that of the Donatists. He said that he felt confident that when he returned to his rooms, and was able fully and calmly to consider the whole matter, he should see his way completely out of the difficulty. But he said: 'I cannot conceal from myself that, for the first time since I began the study of theology, a vista has been opened before me, to the end of which I do not see.' He was walking in the New Forrest, and he borrowed the form of his expression from the surrounding scenery. His companion, upon whom such a fear came like a thunderstroke, expressed his hope that Mr. Newman might die rather than take such a step.

He replied, with deep earnestness, that he had thought, if ever the time should come when he was in serious danger, of asking his friends to pray, that, if it was not indeed the will of God, he might be taken away before he did it."

As we have just remarked, Newman's "calm and full" consideration does not improve matters; and soon difficulty follows quickly on difficulty, and the end of the vista yearly becomes more evident. Even his own particular work does but hasten the end. As is well known, he had both studied the Fathers and published editions of their works with the view of supporting such Catholic doctrines as Baptismal Regeneration, the Real Presence, Apostolic Succession, and others of a kindred nature—doctrines which he imagined could be held by Anglicans, and which he distinguished as "Catholic," and as differing from others (which generally were simply their logical development) which he labelled "Roman." The former had a certain amount of authority in the Establishment as having been taught by the Caroline divines of the English Church; and Newman wished to make them more generally known and accepted, by showing that they rested on the firm basis of patristic teaching. The Anglican divines were to be supported by the Fathers, and Newman hoped that his countrymen would find their united teaching irresistible. Once, however, having appealed to the Fathers as the ground on which his teaching rested, so honest a mind as Newman's could not ignore their teaching when it went further than his argument required. He could not quote them for his own purpose, but remain indifferent to what he found elsewhere in their writings, even when it reached the point which till now he had considered sheer "Romanism." In November, 1839, he writes of others what we expect he must have been himself experiencing:—

"Then the question of the Fathers is getting more and more anxious. For certain persons will not find in them just what they expected. People seem to have thought they contained nothing but the doctrines of Baptismal Regeneration, Apostolical Succession, Canonicity of Scripture, and the like. Hence, many have embraced the principle of appeal to them with this view. Now they are beginning to be undeceived."

In 1840 Newman is seriously depressed by the state not only of the religious world, but also of the tone he finds prevalent amongst both intellectual and scientific people. Carlyle, Arnold, and Milman, politicians, geologists, and political economists, seem uniting to bring about a deplorable state of things :—

"Everything is miserable [he writes]. I expect a great attack upon the Bible . . . indeed, I have long expected it . . . But this is not all. I begin to have serious apprehensions lest any religious body is strong enough to withstand the league of evil but the Roman Church . . . Certainly, the way good principles have shot up is wonderful; but I am not clear they are not tending to Rome."

Such an admission must have cost Newman dear. Was not this the very thing that his enemies had been continually insisting on; and although he slightly qualified his assertion later on in the letter, it is ominous of what is to follow.

It was also in this year (1840) that Newman commenced building what he styles a "monastic house," at his country living of Littlemore. This living was attached to that of St. Mary's, Oxford, and was a source of great interest to Newman and to his mother and sisters, who settled there after his father's death. In this same year he purchased some nine or ten acres at Littlemore, and there built a dwelling-house which was to be inhabited by men from Oxford, who, sharing his opinions, wished to give themselves to a regular life of religion and study. When the cares and fretting of Oxford life became overpowering, Newman found a welcome retreat in this abode; and as his doubts and difficulties became more perplexing and overwhelming, his visits to Littlemore lengthen, till, during the last years of his Anglican life, when he had relinquished all preferment in the Establishment, it became his permanent home, and at last it was the scene of his reception into the Catholic Church.

The next few years are pregnant with important issues, and, although, as we have seen, Newman found much occasion for dissatisfaction as early as the year 1840, it was in 1841 that

commenced the series of events which may be considered the outward and impersonal causes, over and above the inward conviction which God's grace was forming within him, and which, combined with such events, brought about the happy result with which we are familiar. In 1841 Newman wrote his famous 'Tract Ninety, which, as is well known, was concerned with the possibility of interpreting the decidedly Protestant Thirty-Nine Articles of the Anglican Prayer-book in a Catholic sense. He seems to have been quite unprepared for the excitement which followed its publication, and to have been far from expecting that it would create any special interest. Nor, apparently, did Keble, to whom Newman showed it, expect any stir to result, for he allowed it to pass without any further criticism. More than one circumstance, however, combined to bring this tract into special notice. By the time it was published, the movement was creating much interest; the daily papers were busy discussing "Puseyism," as it was now called; and, although its earnestness was recognised, and the danger of mistaking it for an affair of mere posture and ceremony was admitted, yet, on the whole, it met with little popular favour. The subject was also discussed in Parliament, on the occasion of one of the ever-recurring debates on the grant to Maynooth College. This was made the occasion of an attack on the Oxford party, wherein, as it was stated, were to be found those who, whilst they were paid to teach Protestantism, were doing their best to bring the Establishment into harmony with Rome. It was at this moment of public excitement, when the world was fully alive and anxious to understand all that was going on at Oxford, and when people were frightened and confused by the tone of the papers, and by the debates in Parliament, that Tract Ninety appeared. We cannot be surprised that, instead of allaying, it further excited the public mind. Its subtle distinctions, we must fairly admit, were enough to puzzle plain people. The Thirty-Nine Articles had always been considered a bulwark of Protestantism, especially against such errors of Rome as the doctrine of the Mass, the Invocation of Saints, Purgatory, and others of a like nature, which, whilst the 'Tractarians called "Romanism," as held by us,

yet from their study of the Fathers they found no system, professing to be Catholic, could exclude from its teaching. In some form or other they must be recognised. The difficulty was met with great ingenuity; and Newman endeavoured to prove that the Articles were so framed as only to condemn certain popular abuses in the Church of Rome; and that their language admitted of an interpretation which was in harmony with Catholic teaching.

Such fine shades of meaning and such subtle distinctions, were, however, altogether beyond the somewhat dense vision of the ordinary Englishman. His intellectual strong point is not the power of distinguishing between delicate differences; and he is somewhat contemptuous of what he calls hair-splitting; and a storm such as the Establishment has seldom witnessed suddenly arose. The tutors, professors, and heads of houses, all Oxford, indeed all England, seem to have been alarmed, and to have rushed into hasty action, the details of which it is now unnecessary to follow. As is well known from his own pen, Newman considered his position in the movement so damaged that his legitimate influence was at an end, and he retired to Littlemore. Though the end was not yet, we may call this move its beginning. The Roman spectre, far from being laid, was daily becoming more importunate; and besides, its disquieting warnings, misrepresentations and misunderstandings from his own people, cause a constant worry. Anglicans to-day fondly imagine that had Newman at this time been treated with more sympathy, they might have kept him in their ranks. This is, of course, a surmise from which we differ, believing that, all along, God's finger was on him, and that sooner or later He would have claimed him for His own. There is, however, no denying that had the Anglican body studied how best to drive a sensitive, yet loyal man from their Church, they could have devised few better methods than those practised on Newman. As he tells us in the *Apologia* :—

"After Tract Ninety, the Protestant world would not let me alone. They pursued me in the public journals to Littlemore. Reports of all kinds were circulated about me. Inquiries why did I go to Littlemore at all? For no good purpose, certainly;

I dare not tell why. Why, to be sure, it was hard that I should be obliged to say to the editors of newspapers, that I went up there to say my prayers. It was hard to have to tell the world in confidence that I had a certain doubt about the Anglican system, and could not at that moment resolve it, or say what would come of it. It was hard to have to confess that I had thought of giving up my living a year or two before, and that this was the first step to it. It was hard to have to plead that, for what I knew, my doubts would vanish if the newspapers would be so good as to give me time, and let me alone."

Although, on the whole, his own bishop treated him with kindness and consideration, yet, even he brings foolish reports seriously to his notice, asks for explanations, and seems to give heed to much, which, whilst it is mere silly gossip, is yet calculated to annoy Newman, and simply to drive him further and more quickly in the direction towards which his teaching was accused of leading. Throughout these trying years, however, Newman, though hurt and distrustful, and almost overwhelmed with doubts of his own position, and sorrow at the grief and perplexities which his doubts cause to his followers, yet never loses patience. From the first, he has strongly deprecated all hasty or precipitate action. No unconsidered step, no change made when smarting under misunderstanding, meets with his approval. The very attraction which many Protestants feel for the Catholic Church, in his advice to others, he urges should be resisted, and not allowed unduly to influence them in a change of religion. He will leave no stone unturned, nor will he relinquish all hope of the possibility of the Anglican Church being a part of the Catholic Church till every chance has been seriously examined and deliberately cast aside. The letters of these years show how reluctantly he gave up hope, how sadly he hoped against hope, that his early views might yet prove true.

It was whilst he was in this critical frame of mind, that the State and the Establishment combined to deal the final blow to his expectation of Catholicising his fellow-countrymen by means of the Church of England. Whilst he had spent years and labour untold in an endeavour to prove that she was Catholic, and had succeeded in persuading many, and

in half persuading himself, that he was right, the body he was experimenting upon suddenly awoke, by a slight effort righted herself, and by one act reasserted, in an unmistakable manner, the essentially Protestant nature of her character which the Tractarians had had the temerity to assail. This act was the appointment of an Anglican bishop to the See of Jerusalem, there to fraternize with Monophysites and Lutherans, Sabellians and Calvinists, and any other form of heresy, ancient or modern, which he might find on the spot.

As might be expected, this act wounded Newman deeply. Regarding it he writes in the *Apologia* :—

“ Looking back two years afterwards on the above-mentioned and other acts on the part of Anglican ecclesiastical authorities, I observed : ‘ Many a man might have held an abstract theory about the Catholic Church, to which it was difficult to adjust the Anglican ; might have admitted a suspicion, or even painful doubts about the latter, yet never have been impelled onwards, had our rulers preserved the quiescence of former years ; but, it is the corroboration of a present, living, and energetic heterodoxy, that realizes and makes such doubts practical ; it has been the recent speeches and acts of authorities, who had so long been tolerant of Protestant error, which has given to inquiry and theory its force and edge.’ ”

At the time he writes :—

“ It really does seem as if the bishops were doing their best to un-Catholicise us ; [and again], it cannot be denied that a great and anxious *experiment* is going on, whether our Church be, or be not, Catholic ; the issue may not be in our day. But I must be plain in saying, that if it does issue in Protestantism, I shall think it my duty to leave it.”

We see from such words as these, how far even yet Newman was from realizing the nature of the faith which a Catholic places in his Church, a failing we may observe which is all but general with Anglicans. Catholic doctrines they can and often do accept one by one, and independently of each other ; not, however, on the ground that they are taught by the Church, but either because they can be proved from Scripture, or that they are in harmony with their early teaching, or attracted by their intrinsic beauty. But, should

such men be confronted by a doctrine resting on the same authority, but which repels instead of commending itself to them, we at once discover the foundation on which their imposing so-called Catholic edifice has been built. They not only oppose it resolutely, but they seem even unable to understand how a Catholic finds no difficulty in submitting his own opinion to that of the Church when and in whatsoever way she may ask it of him.

Although his visits to Littlemore were now so lengthy as to form almost a continuous residence there, it was not till February, 1842, that Newman retired there for good, and in the following year he ceased to preach at St. Mary's, Oxford, and indeed soon after to preach in the Establishment at all. In August, 1843, Father Lockhart, who at that time was one of the brotherhood at Littlemore, was received into the Church, an occurrence by which Newman feels to so great an extent compromised that he allowed it to fix the date of his resigning the living of St. Mary's. In writing to his sister, touching this step he says :—

“I am not so zealous a defender of the established and existing system of religion as I ought to be for such a post ; [and a few days later he adds], the truth, then, is, I am not a good son enough of the Church of England to feel that I can in conscience hold preferment under her. I love the Church of Rome too well.”

The period, from September 17th to 25th, 1843, is, perhaps, the most eventful in Newman's life, if we except the one of his reception, in October, 1845. On the 17th he preached at St. Mary's, a sermon which was followed by a sleepless night, and a journey to London, where he went through the legal preliminaries necessary for resigning his living. He preached, however, once more in the University pulpit on the 24th. The 25th was spent at Littlemore, and on that day, for the last time, his voice was heard in an Anglican Church, speaking those touching words on the “parting of friends,” which few, even amongst those who best know and can realize how great has been his gain, how speedily his tears were turned into joy, can read unmoved. To those who, alas, refused to follow, from whom

the parting and severance were complete, and with whom he was never again united in a common faith, their unqualified sadness must be extreme. As one who can remember those days, writes, on no longer hearing Newman's voice in Oxford:—

“On these things, looking over an interval of five-and-twenty years, how vividly comes back the remembrance of the aching blank, the awful pause which fell on Oxford, when that voice had ceased, and we knew we should hear it no more. It was as when, to one kneeling by night, in the silence of some vast cathedral, the great bell tolling solemnly overhead has suddenly gone still. . . . Since then many voices of powerful teachers may have been heard, but none that ever penetrated the soul like his.”

Even now, however, Newman can announce no definite intention of joining the Church; only he says: “I do so despair of the Church of England . . . and I am so drawn to the Church of Rome, that I think it *safer*, as a matter of honesty, *not* to keep my living.” The end, however, is fast approaching. Study had convinced his intellect; all the action of his own Church had been disquieting; the full conviction that it would be at the risk of his soul if he remained stationary was overwhelming. Such considerations as these were sufficiently powerful to withstand even the affectionate and tender pleadings of his sisters and friends not thus to desert them. No more touching letter exists in our language than that which Newman wrote, in answer to his sister's remonstrance, on March 15, 1845. Unfortunately, it is too long to quote. Indeed, the sense all these latter letters give us is one of an unnecessarily lengthened pain; they represent a long and sorrowfully-drawn-out parting. We feel as if we were witnessing a scene, which, although all concerned dread its ending, those looking on can but wish to hasten. We might thus watch the leave-takings of a party of emigrants on board a ship. The sound of the warning bell is dreaded by all; yet, an undue delay is but the lengthening of the most distressing of all human emotions. With Newman, the delay extends over months and years, and we can imagine that at last even his Anglican friends must have welcomed his action. In the end, it came

abruptly in a note to his sister. "This night Father Dominic, the Passionist, sleeps here. He does not know of my intention; but I shall ask him to receive me into what I believe to be 'the one Fold of the Redeemer.'" Thus he died to his past, and when we next open a volume of Newman's letters, they will tell us of a happy resurrection, of the long years which God vouchsafed to grant, and in which he worked in His Master's vineyard, happily called thither in his full manhood and vigour, both of intellect and body, and long years before even the eleventh hour had sounded.

CECIL CLAYTON.

Irish Ecclesiastical Record, Aug. 1891

~~HISTORY OF THE CEREMONIAL OF HOLY MASS. II.~~

~~THE words immediately following those mentioned, that is to say, *Per ipsum, et cum ipso, et in ipso, est tibi Deo Patri, in unitate Spiritus Sancti, omnis honor et gloria*, are, to my mind, after the words of consecration, the most solemn in the whole service, or in any liturgy or office. With the priest holding the sacred species in his hand, and making with the adorable Host the venerable sign of the cross over the consecrated cup, I cannot conceive anything more solemn, or any words more sublime. They seem to be an epitome of all worship and all adoration. What a treatise might be written on the inner meaning of these words! And how much would it not reveal to us of that *hidden life* in the tabernacle of the altar, where He is always "living to make intercession for us." "By Him, and with Him, and in Him, there accrues to God the Father, in the unity of the Holy Spirit, all honour and glory."~~

~~The introductory prayer, prefixed to the *Pater Noster*, has been of the greatest antiquity; perhaps as old as the introduction of the *Pater Noster* itself; but certainly existing at the time of St. Gregory. Of the *Pater Noster*, and of~~